

these fractures (more in Sieverts, 1997; Mückenberger, 2004, p. 242). Frequently, the informal networks that rest on the family or neighbourhood lose their strength and end up dissolving. Towns, working as spatial units, are at risk in the face of deurbanisation. They lose inhabitants, although not necessarily “users”. This increases competition with other points of interest, such as housing, work and leisure. Universal commercialisation subjects towns to high acceleration and movement (of individuals) pressure, which in turn makes them less attractive.

In accordance with current scientific knowledge, it is very probable that the fractures among work, family and the local community will continue in the future and may even deepen. Experts are not clear, however, which of the previous evolution tendencies will be avoidable and which will not in the coming decades. The evolution of professional activity and families is considered to be difficult to reverse: the evolution of the working world due to the pressure of globalisation, the development of essential worlds due to persistent detraditionalisation of lifestyles and socialisation. For this reason, we must pay special attention to possible alternative evolutions of local communities. Perhaps these will be able to develop a greater power of integration (“network cohesion”) in this context using a clearer orientation of its everyday policy and time structure, in addition to a higher degree of information, cooperation and participation.

I have recently completed an analysis on the beginnings of the city projects in Germany and Europe that have opted for civil society access to the time policy; I have presented a rather sceptical report (Mückenberger, 2004). The impression obtained is the following: in their role of promoting desires on the time policy, civil society agents are not sufficiently aware and united to develop strength in the face of the agents of “the system” in political and economic spheres. In contrast, the weight of civil society’s desires in terms of the time policy should be underestimated; system agents perceive these desires through “sensors” and “antennae” (Cohen, Arato, 1992; Habermas, 1992); that is, with “early warning systems”, and they are included in their calculations using preventive legitimisation. In light of these results, for the continuation of the City 2030 project, it seems appropriate to stop primarily seeking the access point of the agents of civil society and begin to seek it in political and economic agents; in fact, this is how it is done in the practice of all the key projects.

Specifically, in the university and technology park project, it is important to integrate a component of the “essential world” into the field of exploration that enables the existence of a “desire for permanence” and “identification”. We see this component in other similar cases when we verify that there are people who live on the campus;

as a result of the mixed use, culturally speaking, decisive relationships exist between the genders and generations. If this way of mixing uses is separated due to objective restrictions, the strategy of the time policy will be forced to back substitutes of the local effects of one use mix: childcare, shopping, culture, supplies, etc. without a residential culture. There are also examples of these substitute strategies, as could be the case with shopping centres built in rural areas. The real experiment will demonstrate whether a campus can or cannot position the vitalisation of this type of substitute of essential family life.

Even in the case of media neighbourhoods, there is a threat of a dominant monoculture of young professional men without children. According to what we know about post-Fordist neighbourhoods, productivity and capacity for innovation also depend on the advance of urban cultural and gastronomic offerings. Here the question is whether one can survive in a mix of these (rather functional) characteristics, or if the attraction of this type of neighbourhood also needs the social mix, in other words, a mix of ages and genders: qualified female workers, the possibility of combining professional activity with parenthood thanks to childcare systems, working hours and, ultimately, settling.

The reference point is greater essential and family references, as known by the traditional Fordist school. The question is more to what point these references can be measured with the “systemic” foundations of the scholastic institution: temporary teacher, monitor and administrative personnel systems, regulated by collective agreements, the insurance systems of teaching centre heads, the tendency towards a business economy of company consultants, trade union resistance to volunteers as substitutes for professionals and so forth. Basing the project exclusively on civil society would be unsuccessful. Instead, it seems promising to establish the systemic opening of the school; for example, the Bertelsmann experiment or “extracurricular activities” promise academic success, but they are maintained outside the current educational system despite the fact that PISA and IGLU show that they are needed urgently.

The administration modernisation project also presents implications for family policy. The services offered by an institution must be able to react to the living conditions of its users. In order to interrelate and combine the time interests of its employees and its “customers” (both integrated into family and vital interests), the institution needs new opening and exploration processes, methods of compensation and adjustment of interests; all of which are contributed to by the focus of time policy.

In the project of establishing childcare facilities close to workplaces, a question must be raised: at the end of the day, is this not a simple strategy of work policy? On the one hand, they would be places where children are left (from the employees’ point of view); on the other hand, it would be a form of loyalty to the company and its ideology (from the company’s point of view). Covering this reality with the label of family policy would prove very short-sighted. In this sense, authentic family policy solutions must be created from the point of view and with the participation of the children involved, with local offers projected that offer independence and cultural balance. The interests of time policy refer to moral and cultural values as well as to economic demands for problem solving. The mission of the real experiment is to test the potential convergence of interests.

In each one of the five cases, the projects are developed as work, local or family policies. Nonetheless, in order to be suitable they need to be extended to each one of the other areas. In this sense, the affirmation that all of these time policies projects have family policy implications is demonstrated. In this necessary extension, there is always a risk: it may be rejected or be carried out exclusively in a functional plan. Frequently, success depends on an interest being able to be expressed simultaneously in more than one language. However, interests must always find a common linguistic level; in this sense, it seems that in many cases the focus of time policy is able to offer the appropriate vocabulary. With all this, the results cannot be clearly predicted in any real experiment.

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- 1 Trade Union for Public Services, Transport and Communication. (*Translator’s note.*)
2 United Service Union. (*Translator’s note.*)

TERRITORIAL TIME PLAN. POLICIES AND PROJECTS ON TIME IN THE CITY

Sandra Bonfiglioli

Introduction

The Territorial Timetable Plan for the City of Bergamo (Lombardy, Italy) is presented in this article as the most avant-garde and therefore the most representative case of the development of urban time policies in Italy, primarily with regard to the integration of the aspects of time and space in the quality of life. Bergamo is part of the Milan’s urban system, and vice versa, in the large regional agglomeration that makes up a continuous multi-polar urban area. The text has been taken from the Plan document with contributions from Gisella Bassanini, Roberto Zedda, Marina Zambianchi (supervisor of the draft Plan), Stefano Stabilini and Laura Brioschi. To consider Bergamo as being the most

advanced case is not an opinion formed for the reader, but rather a specific fact. In Bergamo, the municipal government started to draft the time plan, services plan and general plan of the city almost simultaneously, something which allowed them to search for and experiment with a plan that was both space- and time-oriented and gave the City's Department of Time Management an entirely original role. To supplement the explanation of the events that took place in Bergamo, general reflections on the origin of the time-approach planning, on the interesting parts and on the role of women are included.

1. Preliminary questions

1.1. Which of the city's policies are time-related?

Urban time policies attend to the matter of relationships between individuals' use of time and public timetables and hours of operation. In the context of the city, it deals with the functioning of the city at different levels of organisation; on the one hand, it ensures that the citizens of Bergamo can carry on with their private, social and public lives. On the other, it allows organisations (businesses, families, associations and institutions) to perform their activities.

The City functions from two interrelated angles: the spatial or urban planning order and the time-oriented order or the hours of operations of general services and organisations and working hours. For reasons related to the physics of how we live, urban time policies have become time-space policies, despite the fact that they address concerns and objectives focused on time and schedules in the life of a city.

For a long time, it seemed that city planning, i.e. the design plans for the formation of the city and its spatial articulation, was enough to determine the workings of the "urban machine" and that the role of regulating hours of operation for general services, productive processes and family life could be left to working hours and the 4+4 time standard. Of all public services, transport and public transport infrastructure performed the function of time-space regulators of the social life of the city, by linking city spaces with each other and with extra-urban areas and synchronizing the length of the journey to work with company working hours.

In terms of their function in the structuring of social life, the questions of services and those of "viability" have formed the centre of city planning operations since the post-war period following the Second World War. But the lack of attention on the part of city planning to the time-oriented aspects of city operations can no longer be put off for a number of general reasons that we will set out before specifically analysing the time-oriented problems of Bergamo and its urban time plan.

All things considered, it is not only the fixed public hours of operation for services, organisations and the schedules of the residents of Bergamo that influence their lives and the lives of organisations, but also other territories related to Bergamo's residents, businesses and institutions. Geographers and planners have called the archipelago the urban system. The Bergamo urban system is made up of the City of Bergamo and all of the areas where there are settlements and communities with which the City's residents, businesses and organisations maintain life and work relationships. Building maps of the Bergamo urban system is one of the tasks of the City of Bergamo's Department of Time Management.

Urban space is the public sector's area of responsibility. The rules and regulations related to time planning for the City also foresee coordination of the time-oriented policies in the extra-urban areas. Public action with regard to time in the City is not responsible for existing elements and their quantification such as how many schools are needed, but with building ideal appropriate time-oriented relationships—for example, between the opening times and calendars of nursery schools, employees' working hours, parents' working hours, transport timetables—according to the uses that the residents and the businesses make of time and land. Establishing the number of schools needed is one of the tasks of city planning.

1.2. The Doctrine of Time-Oriented Policies

In Italy, the development of time-oriented policies initially began at the beginning of the 1990s with the City of Milan Urban Time Plan and, later, in the middle of the same decade it spread through Europe. From the first simple attempts at public action, a network of European universities has supported its diffusion and establishment by working in three directions:

1. The building of a *praxeology*, that is, technical tools focused on time-oriented action: chronographic cartography (chronomap of the events, thematic map of urban chronotopes, chronomap of the poles of attraction, *on/off* map of uses that resident and non-resident populations use in the urban areas, time-space maps of thresholds, *on/off* chronomap for safety policies of the public space); descriptive models of the inhabited areas (chronotopes); governance techniques and building joint planning tables; analysis models of public policies; land information systems with time-oriented objectives; and administrative procedures for managing plans and policies.
2. The building of a basic theory, in part interdisciplinary, for focusing research and the direction of the public sector: time-oriented city planning; sociology of

family, land and work; geography of time; chronobiology and ecology of time; public art for the expression of the culture of time, philosophy of time and feminist philosophy. In particular, these theoretical studies now allow us to understand and describe the action of time in urban configuration and morphology of the built city.

3. An extensive atlas of the case studies on the subject of active research that works from within and in synchrony with processes of transformation, that is, neither before, like with the former logic of "first objectively know the problem and then act from certain rationality", or afterwards by distancing oneself and thinking about it theoretically.

1.3. Italian Laws of Reference for the City's Territorial Time Plan

A vast group of laws allows the creation of projects for the management of time in the City:

- Law 142/1990, of 8 June, on the organisation of local self-government, art.36, § third: grants the mayor the power to "coordinate commercial and public services, hours of operation as well as the opening hours to the public of the peripheral offices of the government administration, with the objective of harmonising the complement of services to the overall and general demands of the users".
- Law 241/1990, of 7 August, on new rules pertaining to administrative procedures and right of access to administrative documents, art. 2, § second: introduces the requirement to conclude administrative procedures within a defined brief period of time for each type of act, since the quickness of the response from the public administration is also considered an important factor, in order that citizens avoid negative consequences as a result of unnecessary lost time.
- Law 125/1991, of 10 April, on the positive actions to obtain male-female equality in the workplace, art.1, § second, letter e): points to a reorganisation of work, working conditions and working hours, as a way to improve the balance between family and professional responsibilities and a more equitable distribution of tasks between the sexes.
- Decree Law 29/1993, 3 February, on rationalisation of the organization of civil service and revision of the discipline of public work, art. 5 in conformity with Law 421/1992, of 23 October, art. 2, which establishes, along with general criteria of having to find ways of reorganising the civil service, "the harmonising of the operating hours of offices and workplaces with the needs of the users and with the hours

and civil service of the nations of the European Community as well as with the operating hours of the private sector workplace”.

- Law 285/1997, on provisions for the encouragement of rights and opportunities for children and adolescents that plans interventions “in the central and local area for encouraging the promotion of rights, quality of life, development, individual growth and socialisation of children and adolescents...”. The Law also foresees the experimentation of innovative social-educational services for early childhood (0-3 years).
- Decree Law 114/1998, of 31 March, on the reform of the relative discipline of the commercial sector, art. 11, consistent with Law 59/1997, of 15 March, art. 4, § 4: it introduces important margins of liberalisation with regard to commercial operating hours, requiring local governments to regulate them at the local level.
- Decree of the Ministry of the Environment, of 27 March 1998, on sustainable mobility in urban areas: instituting the position of mobility manager, whose job consists in “optimising” “mobility packets” for the journey to work of people employed in commercial and administrative productive structures of greater than 300 employees and businesses with more than one shop or site located in the same city that exceeds 800 employees overall. The objective is to reduce private means of transport in favour of multi-modal means.
- Revision of Law 142 (la 265/1999): modifies art. 36 —later integrated in the single Text of the laws relating to the arrangement of local Entities (no. 267/00) — and requires the mayor to coordinate and reorganize, “along the lines expressed by the municipal council and in the context of criteria indicated by the region, the operating hours for public and private businesses and public services as well as, in agreement with the supervisors of the other governmental bodies with jurisdiction in the area, the public opening hours of the public offices located in the area in order to harmonise the operation of services with overall demands of the users”.
- Decree 275/1999, of the President of the Republic, on the rules relating to the regulations concerning the autonomy of educational institutions, in accordance with art. 21 of Law 59/1999, of 15 March: assigns every school the authority to regulate teaching hours. With this aim, the educational institutions can adopt all of the forms of flexibility that they consider appropriate.

In 2000, National Law No. 53 was passed: provisions for maternity and paternity support, the right to child care leave and educational training and for the coordination of time in the city. The second part is dedicated to time in the city and requires mayors of cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants to:

- Draw up a Territorial Timetable Plan.
- Institute a Department of Time Management.
- Identify a departmental head in this area.
- Institute a coordinating board of citizen institutions to carry out projects included in the Plan.

Identify two levels of action the regional and the municipal, and include the following articles:

- Regional tasks (art. 22).
- Municipal tasks (art. 23).
- Territorial timetable plan (art. 24).
- Coordinating board (art. 25).
- Public Employee operating hours (art. 26).
- Time banks (art. 27).
- Funds for harmonising time in the city (art. 27).

Complementing Law 53/00, the Lombardy region approved Regional Law no. 28/2004 on Regional Policies for the coordination and administration of time in the city. The Regional Law identifies the coordination and administration of times and operating hours as tools for promoting the equality of opportunity between men and women and quality of life through the reconciliation of working hours, relationships, childcare, education and free time for the people who live in the region or make use of it, including those who do so temporarily.

1.4. Relationship between the Time Plan and City Planning

It is more than obvious that, from a theoretical point of view —since in the daily practices of residents and organizations, the regulation of public operating hours and urban development of the city contribute (in fact, they are integrated) to the defining of a space-time organisation of urban life —city planning and the time plan have common goals and are destined to overlap with one another. The overlap is governed and shared by planners and administrators from different departments and is foreseen in the document of the Plan. The relationship between the responsibilities of the City’s Department of Time Management and the Department of City Planning was very strained until the city plan was reformed beginning in the 1990s and carried out during the first decade of the twenty-first century in all regions of Italy.

The Lombardy region, first with the Law of 1/2001, which instituted the Services Plan and later with Law 12/2005, which

inscribed the Services Plan among the documents that make up the Governing Plan of the Area, made integration of the City Plan with the Time Plan possible. The most significant part of the Services Plan —as foreseen in the Lombardy regional law— is the functioning of the city at different level of associated life. It is the same problem that time-oriented urban policies face, especially those that are structured in a territorial timetable plan. Both are essentially plans for accessibility to services of public and general interest. On the other hand, they have formal powers, tools for action, traditions and social actors with very diverse support.

The urban time policies have come to address spatial dimensions through experience on the ground and disciplinary thinking, something that has given rise to the so-called time-oriented city planning innovations. The services plans have reached the timetable and time dimension under the guise of the concept of service provision and consequently, of opening and closing hours in relation to the new time-oriented profiles of demand. The origins of these two types of plans are different: the time-oriented policies come from a feminist movement in the 1980s “women change time”; the Services Plan has its origins in the disciplinary, instrumental and legislative renovation (primarily regional) of city planning in the last 20 years. The interested parties that come into play in these two kinds of plans are also different. The parties interested in time-oriented planning primarily have interests of ethics and values (new school hours to improve teaching, new working hours for improving women’s jobs and balancing life and work) and this curbs investment, the return on which would be a common good without owners. On the one hand, the Services Plan takes up the tradition of Italian reformist city planning, which, at the time, made services an important city planning issue in the face of territorial imbalances and a new labour market, predominantly female; on the other hand, the approach focused on contributions for improving the quality of services brings about real estate interests, which are the source of power of city planning action and the heart of the game of regulation of private and public interests.

It is clear that the alliance with the Services Plan has been important for the Time Plan since the latter has a weaker capacity for action. The interests of the Service Plan and their operators with regard to time responsibilities were shown with the dialogue. Currently, neither plan is subordinate but both occupy the same level. The reasons for this alliance should be explained and organised.

2. Structural changes and time-oriented conflicts legitimize action on time in the city

2.1. The Social Reasons for Time-Oriented Planning

Many studies (Bonfiglioli, Boulín, Mückenberger in process of being published) have shown that the main structural and cultural transformations that are taking place in society and post-Fordist cities are concurrent with profound time-oriented changes: flexible working hours in the framework of post-Fordist rules of work organisation; desynchronisation of public operating hours systems; increase in the personal mobility, markets and information in the framework of globalisation of economic and social processes and new values attributable to the use of time for life projects in the area of individualisation of behaviours and consumerism.

These processes of change are related to new uses of time and land and with new quality of life expectations by citizens. So the new public operating hours, which are derived from the industrial and service economy operating hours, open up new conflicts related to use and time: between generations, for example, with regard to the use of public spaces at night or with regard to the distribution of intergenerational wealth in the framework of the current welfare system; between clients and employees of services, since the new services hours require new working hours; between non-standardized time for taking care of the family and working hours that are not oriented to the family; between parents, with regard to sharing care for family and between the two sexes with regard to the cultural of personal use of time.

2.2. Building the idea of quality of life in the experience of urban time policies

The idea of quality of life has started to prosper and become more prominent over time. Right from the start in the 1980s, during the Italian phase of the “women change time” movement, the policies on time in the city have been quality of life policies. With this objective, from the beginning, the policies have been differentiated from the contemporaneous movement for the equality of opportunity focused on improving the work-life balance to achieve better conditions for women’s access and permanence in the labour market.

During the seventies, the Law of the Marques (Italy) region was incorporating time-oriented and spatial aspects of quality of life in the first conception of time-oriented city planning: individual and social time cannot be conceived on the margin of the functional organisation of the region, which had not only been generated by public operating hours

systems, but also with city planning ordinances. The idea of quality of life is specified as quality of life in places. In whose name? In the name of the residents and non-residents temporarily present in the same places.

Lastly, reflection raises the question of who is demanding this quality of life. It is not an anonymous individual that has the formal rights of citizenship, a silent component of populations and social groups, but a flesh and blood person in different stages of their life. And it is these talking individuals who, when carrying on their daily lives in the different areas of their habitat according to the use of their time for everyday life, who put to the test the group of formal rights of citizenship, which they enjoy, and the functional and symbolic schemes of the places in question.

The concept of “quality of life” is still not very clear and should be defined further: quality of daily life in different places for a real person who lives there at a stage in their life. What new aspects have we contributed?

1. The changes in the meaning of the expression ‘quality of life’ have placed the inhabitants of a city and their capacity to talk and express themselves at the centre of the conception of time-oriented problems. They have not been put in social groups like women, workers, businesspeople—that are certainly, in sociological terms—, also bearers of time-oriented interests, but citizens of a city carrying out their daily lives: above all, inhabitants. The construction of time-oriented problems begins from a viewpoint “in the shadow of the citizen” and when carrying out actions in his or her life, decides when to “put to the test” the time-orientated and spatial schemes that correspond to their habitat.
2. The beneficiary of time-oriented action is the resident citizen and it is possible and valid to specify characteristics for them up to the scale of the person.
3. The micro-scale of places, where everyday corporal gestures are carried out, becomes more important. The daily level of life is like this. The everyday scale of time use and the spatial scale of the gestural body in the life practices are reciprocally coherent dimensions that are anthropological and related to housing. Both dimensions are also coherent with the thesis that argues that the beneficiary of time-oriented policies has to be the resident. It should be noted that urban time policies have identified the same spatial and time-oriented scales that drew the attention of time geographers during the 1960s.
4. City planning can address a criticism against having forgotten the reasons of the body that has characterised the

post-war phase of regional and city planning, in the interest of a large scale structuralist vision of urban problems.

5. The work sphere and its specific way of regulating working hours with regard to time for life can be theoretically linked with the of life in the area and with its specific form of regulation. The city’s space and time is recomposed of a unique four dimensional time-space if problems are looked at from the scale of the body.

This approach allows us to recompose—more theoretically than through public action itself—the break that has occurred during European history by the lengthy process of separating the work space-time sphere with respect to the world of living practices reserved for actors of social dialogue. In the theoretical field, the social dialogue formally finds a new public sphere of joint action.

2.3. Participative action

Since the 1990s, time-oriented urban policies developed, for example, by the departments of time management of Milan, Bolzano, Genoa, Rome and many other Italian and European cities, have directed participatory projects through the creation of “quadrupartite committees”, where the different interested parties sit down and address the adopted measures (for example, commercial operating hours). The members work in accordance with the principles of the common joint action projection. Therefore, the public action follows the guidelines and the so-called *governance* philosophy. This public action philosophy is strengthened by the crossover actions that the Department of Time Management carries out with other municipal and provincial departments and the citizen public administration.

2.4. Morphology of working hours in the field of public timetables

The aim of looking back on the long historic route that has resulted in the current organisation of timetables and the legal and ethical tools that regulate them is to include something that we take for granted and of which we have little awareness.

Time schedules are localized

The concept of localisation of public service schedules contains two aspects: the norms that institutionalise them have value in one area and not in another; regulated activities (schools, industries, families) are localized in space and, in this institutionally defined and spatially limited context, public service schedules “are valid”.

Public service timetable systems

Working hours and, in general, public service schedule hours, are not independent of each other but rather are

arranged in mutually linked schedules (Chiesi, 1989). It makes sense to consider the public service schedules as an elastic network that is modified even though only one of them changes. For example, it is a common experience in family life to adapt lunchtime to a change in the school timetable of a family member.

Public sphere/private sphere
Public service schedules are the axis along which the public and private spheres mutually hybridize, from the personal and the social. Urban time policies apply to public service schedules and, therefore, to the relationship between the private and public sphere, between individual and collective interests.

Flexible Hours

The term “flexibility” refers to a broad range of time-oriented forms of post-Fordist work: the great variety of timetable modules and work calendars for economic activities; the variability of working hours over time that apply to the same employee; the stop and start of women in the labour market as a result, for example, of the birth of a child; the temporality of work hours in the case of precarious jobs; the self-regulation of the employee as to when to enter or leave work, the self-regulation of working hours for many types of freelance work.

Transforming service schedules is a complex action

Transforming public service schedules is not, therefore, a simple action and it is difficult to monitor the impact of the measures adopted in the chain of the time-oriented transformation that has occurred. It is, above all, an action of limited rationality due to the limited observability of the chain of transferences of the time-oriented forms. Similarly, the time schedules are not internalised by the inhabitants of the place, who end up considering them as normal (Tabboni, 1984).

2.5. The interested parties in time management

Not only to have a say but also to plan jointly. The awareness raising process has been slow in many European cities and the planners in the Department of Time Management have given it their maximum effort during the social construction phase of the projects.

The participatory structure of the social construction task has been called the “joint planning board” (Bonfiglioli, 2000) to emphasise that the board is not a place for “win-win” type negotiating between social forces and the municipal government, but rather a place for participative planning between interested parties that know how to assume the role of social actors capable of orchestrating common interests and strategic visions, without even being mediators.

The practice of governance called joint planning was initially created within the time-oriented policies of Bolzano. It had been studied thanks to the systematic work of observation and research carried out on public action and has been theorized in the discipline. Currently, it is an internationally recognised term in the discipline of governance (Mareggi, 2002; Bonfiglioli, Boulin, Mückenberger, in process of being published).

Who are the interested parties, by type:

Educational institutions

Particularly nursery schools and primary and secondary education, have schedules and calendars that are related by networks with families, with working hours of parents and workers and with the availability of women, especially those with families and small children, to enter and remain in the labour market. The experiences have posed the following as problems: the extension of the project of new school timetables and calendars to all schools; the decision that children should be the main beneficiaries of the change in school timetabling and calendars; the creation of two quality objectives, the pedagogic objective and one related to the students’ overall living time. There is a strong awareness that there is a relationship between school hour schedules and calendars and women’s occupations. In order to complement these new ends, the educational institutions and parents are building a very original network of disciplines, reflections and research.

Commercial entrepreneurs

They have put forward some strategic questions. In the first place, economic development and the future of the commercial enterprise from the long term perspective of a new design for tourist calendars in the area and new time-oriented profiles of demand requiring opening on Saturdays, evenings and holidays.

Secondly, the role of local entities in favour of the employment of women, especially with regard to reincorporation of women into the labour market after maternity and the adaptation of infant services timetables during the periods of extended hours of business operation on Saturdays, evenings and holidays.

And finally, the need to improve services and quality of public spaces: temporary parking for physical access to facilities; presence and good condition of facilities in public spaces, mainly on the street in public squares; logistics of transporting goods to the entrance of the business; innovative services for the delivery of goods.

Contractors

In terms of accessibility to facilities at different levels, the management of personal mobility, the logistics of

transporting goods and the modernisation and integration of services within the businesses. The interested parties who are still unconvinced are mainly contractors and the world of business in general. An appropriate strategy for encouraging their involvement needs to be found.

Mayors

Mayors who defended the urban time policies in Italy and with whom a relationship has to be re-established.

Women

They had promoted urban time policies in the interest of quality of life and the issue of reconciling life and work time.

2.6. Strategic questions of urban time policies

Urban time policies throughout Europe work around four questions of strategic value:

1. Sustainable mobility.
2. The reconciliation of time for everyday life, working hours and personal time.
3. Accessibility to general services.
4. Urban requalification.

Bergamo’s Timetable Plan takes these questions as guidelines for their projects and time-oriented policies.

2.7. City planning reasons for time-oriented planning

Globalisation as a form of urban settlement and peripheralisation of the European city

Which elements have research and regional and city planning in Europe have presented as a problem with regard to urban transformation since the 1970s? In summary: globalisation of the city and the new urban hierarchy; the decline of the historical city and urban civilisation; everyday mobility of people and goods that extends through equally vast areas with different spatial scales; the building of new areas; the reform of planning tools and laws; the emergence of new social subjects, especially women, who access public decision making with new interests; new housing practices related to the flow of movement; time-oriented aspects of transformations.

All these elements can be seen to be consistent with the idea that the contemporaneous transformation of human settlement evolves together with the following elements:

- Globalization processes in the economy.
- Post-industrial development that transfers the telematic revolution to productive processes and the organization of work.

- And the social mutations that, at least in the leading regions, are usually given the generic term “knowledge society”.

Consequently, the qualitatively significant beginning of the urban transformation is usually placed in the decade of the seventies, a time when the socio-economic order of industrial taylorism in Europe is declining.

Networks of Cities and Urban Systems

Beginning in the seventies, the new concepts of contemporary urban settlement referred to configurations that do not “have” structure or limits, or a circumscribable sovereignty of their “own”. City networks, urban systems, third generation metropolises (Dupuy, Godard, Roncayolo, 1994; Martinotti, 1993) are concepts that give their name to a type of urban configuration diffused into different regions and regulated, not by a sovereign public institution, but through economic and social exchanges, which highlight its interactive rather than hierarchical character. The design of the relationships is more significant than the physical city itself. According to Gabriel Dupuy (1995) “The pertinent space now is not the continuous space of the classic geographic model but a complex topology of discontinuous spaces, without connections, that establish previously unknown time-space combinations”.

Redistricting

The new geography of settlement and exchange in the area of economic globalisation infers an articulated spectrum —through different scales and legal forms— of local European policies that have the establishment of new “districts” as an objective by the regional government, characterised by some limitations of variable and often time-oriented geometry: “pays”, or time-oriented planning community in France; new design of urban administrative areas; communities of agglomeration; metropolitan areas; multi-regional areas such as Milan-Turin; building of European area on a continental scale on a level with the European infrastructural project, continental areas of free exchange.

Daily mobility in large scale urban design systems of variable geometry

The peri-urban redistribution of population and the growth of the extension of urban settlements are phenomena present in all of the advanced economic regions. The effects of settlements in the area are different due to the regional urban framework and the reach of its network. In a space like France, with an urban network of wide radius and polarity around the Île-de-France, the stitching effects of the peri-urban areas in the form of enormous low density built-up belts are less common than in Italy where medium sized cities can be found every 30 kilometres. Here, saturation of the peri-urban ‘edge city’ is normal.

The resulting morphology of the new logic of settlement is an archipelago —some prefer the term “nebulous”— of densely urbanised areas, with scattered clearings of plural areas on different scales; the connection does not necessarily come from unitary government institutions but through daily practices based on the choice made by the inhabitants of the edge city, of using services scattered through the archipelago. This choice, sometimes called *hyper-choice* (Godard, 1997; Camagni, 1996), generates a zigzagging mobility pattern based on private transport needs. The challenge of the governing powers of the area consists of concentrating on the dispersion, with collective modes of transport, rather than foreseeing and arranging the space in advance.

The concepts of *urban system* and *urban network* within the framework of international thinking about cities and city planning that began during the seventies bring a new angle to the conception of urban settlements that place less value on morphological aspects and values the logic of exchange, of mobility and the connection between city and region. In this context, the exchanges are not the hierarchical kind, as has traditionally been the case between the capital and the province, between cities and rural areas, but rather interactive ones.

Mobility of people and goods is the engine that outlines “on wheels” and with road networks, a new physical (and social?) configuration of quasi urban and informal type urban settlements of a regional scale.

Temporary inhabitants of the urban network hubs

The relationship between uses of working hours/schedules and the rhythms of social time and between these and the expansive logic of urban settlements is well known and there are a number of studies that have described and measured the “study objective”.

As Martinotti says, also referring to the Italian urban transportation system, from the end of the seventies visible signs of the reversal of the secular trend in the dynamics of urbanisation began to show up; in fact, cities on the whole with more than 100,000 inhabitants have stopped increasing in population after a century of interrupted growth (Martinotti, 1993). Martinotti puts forward a thesis on the new social morphology related to a new metropolitan settlement: “I suggest consideration of metropolitan settlement and social morphology that is slowly emerging like progressive differentiation of four main populations that currently gravitate around the metropolis. This is a point of view that is indirectly linked to patterns of use of the space-time resources defined by the Hägerstrand and Pred school and recently taken up again by Giddens” (Hägerstrand, 1975; Giddens, 1984).

It attempts to refocus the urban dynamic from the populations that inhabit the city to the populations that make use of it. “The first generation metropolis is profoundly characterised by the phenomenon of pendular movements ... and of large necessary infrastructures for this type of movement —trains, highways, tunnels, bridges and undergrounds— where the most significant urban investment have been focused during the middle of this century” (Martinotti, 1993). If these swings were strategic phenomenon in the building of the first generation metropolis, the second metropolitan generation is characterised by the use of leisure time. “Individuals and families move around not only by going to work and coming home but also for recreation” (Martinotti, 1993). In short, Martinotti classifies the new social morphology of the new metropolis of the second generation like this: city users, businessmen, swing workers, residents. We are already familiar with the last three. We find the real innovation in the ‘city users’: “the new temporary population of urban consumers that intensely, and sometime brutally, use the city and its public spaces” (Martinotti, 1993).

The city of time

This is not only a question of gigantic population flows. The growing mobility of people and goods is building its city, a city of time:

1. The historic centres of the cities, places of temporary presence of the *city users* or urban users.
2. The *cities of art*, like Venice, temporarily inhabited by cyclical populations according to the rhythms of cultural and entertainment events.
3. The *university cities*, like Urbino, inhabited by semi-permanent populations continually renewed through the annual cadences of economic activities.
4. The *tourist cities* that duplicate historic cities, like Rimini, one permanently inhabited and the other seasonal. Rimini is a double city, the “summer” part, which opens four months a year, is larger in volume than the residential sector.
5. The *seasonal cities* of tourist complexes.

3. A heritage of civil consciousness that has to be evaluated in the city of Bergamo Time Plan

A HERITAGE FOR LOCAL AND EUROPEAN USE

The originality of the dialogue among some of the social actors and the local government of Bergamo for including the timetable plan in the public agenda —and the continuity of the route taken over ten years— has resulted in a increase in civil

awareness. The research promoted by the Regional Council of Lombardy and carried out by the Irer Regional Institute of Research in 2004 highlighted the originality of the path taken: "The urban time-oriented policies in Bergamo (113,143 inhabitants, 2001 Census) have a totally unique character within the national and Lombardian scene. For more than a decade, these policies have been shaping constant stimulation of different subjects from civil society, specifically, women, with regard to the City government" (Bonfiglioli, Mareggi, 2004, pp. 227-254).

This accomplishment is completely original since, leaving aside the case of Rome's plan at the beginning of the nineties, where the start-up was promoted by the Mayor and by a forum of women, in all Italian and European cities the initiative was in the hands of the politicians elected in the heart of local organisations, generally women, often accompanied by brilliant planners. Only afterwards, did the initiative receive local support from women's associations, unions, businesses and the university; in other words, it received support from the *pioneers* that acted as consultants on the subject of innovation and emerging needs already existing within the unions, businesses and the university. These individuals had made possible the creation of an idea and of a need for quality time that was growing in Italy in the middle of the eighties —and was expressed in a lengthy movement of active women in the area of family and work (double presence)— transferring the idea to the field of public policy and specifying management content and modalities.

Outside Bergamo, there are no such homogeneously «socially constructed» creations in any other European city, that are uninterrupted and culturally sophisticated in terms of the conception and the practice of quality —whether it be from city life— and their timetable and other time-oriented aspects.

"We wondered who decided on these schedules and working hours and we discovered that there was no kind of coordination ... And what if we shared our needs in order to redesign the City's timetables?"¹ This proposal, extracted from the founding document of the urban time policies in the mid-eighties, has been adopted by the union and by the women of Bergamo as an itinerary for reflecting on services of general interest and working hours as part of their operation: a) structure of the personal ways of life, b) structure of the city's morphologic and city planning schemes (this is perhaps the hardest aspect) and c) as a resource for improving the quality of life and the city aimed at the social and personal objectives of its citizens. The itinerary for the interpretation of social demand, drawn up from a project by the women and the union, used a completely original method for getting citizens' networks and institutions that have

actively participated in the improvement of services that make daily life easier, to "talk" to one another.

The Council of Women, in the new city government's document of mandate for 2004-2009, is made up of 50 women representing 38 groups and associations, 5 municipal council members and 7 division council members. The document does not specify the party affiliation of the members or the interests represented. This is because no single interest is represented, but everyone works on building a new public space for citizens. At the heart of this new public space for citizens it is possible to deal jointly with the living conditions (services and systems of public operating hours) as well as working hours that regulate —designating the times needed for use of personal life- the personal agendas of citizens of any age and sex. And the value of this policy design is found in the reunification, in the area of knowledge and of public action, of spheres of living (in the region) and of work (within the space dedicated to this).

Life and work are spheres that were separated from one another during long periods of history. The stimulus for the division into two spheres from that which in the life of an individual seems an inseparable continuity is verified through the designation of work as the public sphere *par excellence* and life practices as the private sphere. Those who drafted the founding document of urban time policies considered the combining of the two spheres as necessary as a *sine qua non* condition for making the creation of the idea of quality of life time possible, where life time does not mean, as it usually does, additional work practices —outside the work sphere— but the complex configuration and restructuring of personal time for living, made up of time for the family and social relationships, for working hours and for time set aside for oneself.

Here is the definition of the concept of "time for oneself": "Asking for time is not just the need for free time and self-management, for equitable subdivision of roles, it is also valuing that which women know, desire and create with regard to individual and collective time and the transformation of this in a policy project".²

Recently, the Council of Women set up four commissions and two sub-commissions in the following areas: family and citizenship; childhood, minors and family; maladjustment within the family, with particular attention to women; the elderly; quality of life and time policy; culture and communication and participatory democracy.

It is easy to note the extension and articulation of the topics taken on for reflection and agreement. It is important to emphasize that no subject is closed in itself, but that all are related

to the meaningful nexus of life: as an environment (the family), as a "layout" (quality of life and time-oriented policies) or as a relationship with the body (the elderly). The focus is not oriented towards the solution of the problems by focusing attention finding the fastest and most efficient operative solution to a problem. In any case, it is inspired in the culture of planning that draws attention not towards the solution but towards the construction of the problem, which has to be cultured and polyhedral. And the construction of the problem is at the same time a social and cultural process and an expression of interests that are not seen as banal. It is a focus and a practice of governance initiated by Bergamo social actors through real public practices well before the term and its techniques were expanded by refined discourse. The construction of thought and the public sphere carried out by these social actors has become a method and knowledge. This has prevented the request for public action set out in the policies from slipping towards the regional union activity directed at women. In this sense, women are considered as a social category without rights of citizenship that have to be compensated. Women have done more: they have acted as social actors characterized by civilizing thinking and not subordinate to particular interests, in other words, they act as a subject that is starting to create itself.

What type of understanding has been built as a result of this relational way of working, which encourages *direct expression* from those that act and *theoretical* thinking in order to answer the questions? Obviously it is not an objectifying understanding as occurs now with disciplined methods of scientific observation of a subject under study, present and external to the researcher. The Bergamo social actors have worked for 10 years to apply a living understanding. They can be called experts without necessarily being specialists or generalists removed from the contexts. It is an objective understanding that can be transmitted and transformed with experience by the person who receives it and "adds their own contribution"; an understanding that is scientific because it is the result of observations, systematic thinking, controllable rational processes, and arguments subject to criticism based on theoretical academic references controlled by active scientific communities. It is an understanding that can be "moved to situations" and there it is adapted, because it is not built from without but within contexts and operators. It operates through the presence of a person that was there and is still there and not in accordance with a schematic mission, responsibility, job or timetable.

These facts are not the result of luck or a naive itinerary. Both women and unions have participated, from the beginning of the nineties, in training courses dedicated to the relative disciplines, to time-oriented

policies and to the construction of the problem of quality: time-oriented city planning (Sandra Bonfiglioli and the workshops of the Politecnico di Milano and School of Architecture and Society at the Piacenza campus); family sociology (Belloni, Bimbi, 1997; Saraceno, 1983; Balbo, 1987); land sociology (Zajczyk, 2000; Martinotti, 1993; Colleoni, 2004; Nuvolati, 1998 and 2002). Through these dedicated Italians, international references have begun to circulate: the geography of time, the analysis of the use of time, the sociology of work of Jean Yves Boulin and Ulrich Mückenberger.

It is important to note that in Bergamo the awareness of both women and unions is far from problematical partisanship. On the contrary, is precisely because these social actors look at things from a clearly defined point of view, they address general themes from a political perspective (in the sense of polis) that is distant from private interests, they are able to orchestrate their own interests with the interests of other actors and to create a general view of the problems.

The programmatic document corresponding to the 2004 elections of the Council of Women began by evaluating the public heritage and the city as a archive of the heritage “The city is a social heritage and a resource” (Council of Women of the City Government of Bergamo, 2003, p. 1) and continues by stating that “Women’s point of view is fundamental for the improvement of the overall quality of life. Women are the individuals most harmed by the “burden” of a poorly thought out city and also the individuals most at risk of impoverishment, whether economically or psychologically... The culture of women has to be transformed into a “reference” for governing the city. This means ensuring that the policies relating to everyday things that do not exclude new and important projections, but rather that they are closely linked” (*Op. cit.*, p. 2).

“THE PROBLEM IS NOT HAVING MORE TIME BUT MAKING ONESELF THE MASTER OF ONE’S TIME BY EVALUATING ALL OF LIFE’S PHASES”

Here they implicitly find a critical evaluation of the current form of the welfare state based —with regard to the reference to the balancing of life and work time— on the logic of time-saving involved in taking care of the family with the objective of making the incorporation of women in the labour market possible. Is the only applicable way of reconciling life and work time that of saving time in family activities by externalising them from the family environment and placing them in the hands of children’s services?

In 1991 the women from the Fondazione Serughetti-Centro Studi e Documentazione La Porta had already expressed a series of impartial plans that included the seeds never refuted on the route adopted in

the following study: “To argue about the concepts that constitute the premise of a “different” culture: daily life “time”, from the past and from memory, from urban and domestic spaces in order to plan a “new” city, a new organisation, a new personal and social space (...). Starting from the comparison of women, the interdependence clearly emerges between their lives and the lives of other individuals, between their needs and the needs of others; it is clear that the proposals of the women could bring together and take on the needs of everyone”.³

4. The Time Plan compared with the Services Plan and Regional Government Plan

The possibility of establishing space-time focus in city planning practices and tools finds favourable ground in the Lombardy region after the practically simultaneous enactment of three laws:

- LR 12/2005 by the regional government that renews the action frameworks and tools for regional and city planning at different levels and that, in particular, establishes the Regional Government Plan tool for city planning by replacing the General Regulating Plan;
- LR 28/2004 that regulates the policies for coordinating and administering city time schedules in a Regional Time Plan;
- LR I/2001 that establishes the Services Plan and afterwards, with LR 12/2005, that includes the Services Plan among the documents constituting the Regional Government Plan, thus enabling integration of city planning and the time plan.

According to these three laws, the subject of quality constitutes an explicit end-aim that allows us a glimpse of the chance of an alliance. What does it mean to think about and plan quality services for the today’s city? What elements can be obtained from the experience of time-oriented policies and where should they be included in the regional government plan and its services in particular? The municipal administration of Bergamo adopted the Services Plan and the Territorial Timetable Plan in its programme guidelines as priority operations for drafting the Regional Government Plan. It also initiated the respective planning processes for 2003 and 2005, respectively.

The Regional Government Plan for the city of Bergamo was, on 2008, in the drafting phase in parallel with the Services Plan and with the creation of the Time Plan.

4.1. The Concept of Quality in the Lombardy Region Services Plan

In the Services Plan, quality has been introduced with the sense of “benefits”, in contrast to the consolidated practice of thinking of service provision mainly as an area of public provision in terms of quantitative standards.

The Lombardy Regional Services Plan breaks away from this by introducing the following elements:

1. A new definition of service, not only public but one that expands the concept of public and general interest and consequently managed by private individuals.
2. The possibility for each administration to establish the minimum parameters of service quality, by also including within them non-localized services (such as those related to social assistance not given at the main office) by pressuring with the objective of converting the Services Plan into an integration tool of the different sectional plans.
3. The need to think about the types of services as a function of new lifestyles and new ways for both residents and temporary visitors to use the city.
4. And the determination of the quality of services with regard to ideas of accessibility and the possibility of enjoyment that, from the individual level of functioning of each of the services to an overall city-wide and regional level, transforms the Services Plan into the city’s primary governing tool — the heart of planning for the city.

The *standard* notion changes and extends from public services to all public and general interest services by requesting from municipalities the choice of services that are need to be taken into account when standard are calculated. It should be made clear that the possibility of also including series of services, not offered under specific structures such as social services and assistance is also under consideration.⁴ The introduction of the concept of *quality* in regional government is significant and opens up a vast space for initiatives and experimentation — beyond the prescriptions of the law and suggestions given on how to start up and create the Services Plan. The quality of urban life is explicitly planned as an global objective and the Services Plan becomes a decisive tool for predesigning and applying it. In particular, a “standardised” quantitative provision of services is not enough to respond to the demands dictated by new lifestyles and new ways of using cities and the region.

1 Proposal from Law promoted by the Committee of Women that belonged at the time to the Italian Communist Party, reprinted 1990 with the title *Women Change Time. A Law for Humanizing Working Hours, City Operating Hours, Pace of Life*. First signer: Livia Turco.

2 Carmen Plebani. Introduction to the reports presented during the course Demanding time. Understanding, designs, project of women relative to time, Fondazione Serughetti-Centro Studi e Documentazione La Porta, final document. Bergamo, May-June 1992, p. 2.

3 CAMINATI CREMASCHI, L. «In Allegato». In: *Chiedere tempo. Saperi, desideri, progetti delle donne intorno ai tempi*, Bergamo: Fondazione

Serughetti-Centro Studi e Documentazione La Porta, May-June 1992, p. 38. In the current version available of this document includes the contributions during the course Carmen Plebani, Lidia Menapace, Marina Piazza, Rosangela Pesenti, Paola Manacorda and also the contribution of Nadia Favalli of the group "Women, time and the city" in the introductory seminar "proposed law on time", organised with the wome from FIOM Bergamo 26 February 1993.

- 4 The deliberation broadcast by the Regional Council from 21 December 2001 n.7/7586 "Orienting criteria for drafting the Services Plan" talks about services "not coinciding with the existence of appropriate structures". Karrer and Ricci highlight a coherence between the repositioning in the city planning area of the subject of the planning of services and some legislative arrangements inherent in social and health care (Decree Law 299/1999 and 328/2000) stressing two aspects: the search for integration between the functional dimension and the spatial dimension in social planning (increase the range of services, of the ways of providing them and at the same time introduce the tool of regional area plans as a substitute for the previous structure for a local unit); the opportunity that the Services Plan constitutes the tool that integrates city planning and social planning. KARRER, F.; RICCI, M. *Città e nuovo welfare*. Roma: Officina, 2003, pp. 17-37.ç

UNLOCKING TIME. FROM MANAGING EVERYDAY TIME TO TIME-RELEVANT CITY PLANNING

Luc Gwiazdzinski

*Le temps est femme
Il a besoin qu'on le courtise et qu'on s'asseye
A ses pieds*

Louis Aragon

The fast evolution of our relation to space, time and mobility, coupled with the widening gap between *urbs* and *civitas* is forcing researchers, technicians, town councillors and citizens into a radical change of approach. Based on the research and experimental work carried out on the subject of time, space and mobility in France and in Europe¹, we now propose the use of an alternative approach and a different access key to the concept and construction of the city of the future: "the key of time". The matter of urban temporality and pace is subject to a natural division and transcends disciplinary, organisational, administrative, public or private sector boundary-related issues whilst pushing towards the creation of natural partnerships. A measurable dimension, the matter of time is one that both interests and concerns all of us. The temporal approach enables an accurate observation of urban customs and practices. It promotes participation whilst allowing the progress of adapted experiments aimed at achieving a more human, accessible and hospitable city.

Do not ask us to define time; Saint Augustine himself gave up trying to: "I know what time is, but only until asked

to define it". It is easier to highlight the changes that affect time in our lives, our country and our cities. In the face of increasing complexity and the requirement for participation and proximity, it now becomes possible to maximise the benefits of the keys of time. Employment, transports, services, development, equality, attractiveness, quality of life: sustainable development is also a matter of time.

A RESOURCE THAT OUGHT TO BE MOBILISED. The constraints that weigh upon our urban societies require an increased awareness of the concept of "resource" and a shift from a financial operating account to a societal balance. There happen to be three fundamental resources that operate in this manner: energy, time and space. Local energy driving forces are insubstantial and spatial resources are increasingly limited. Time resources remain still; their merit being that these can work around the other factors and place man at the heart of the matter in hand. What we propose is to make use of the time key and to favour the approach of the metropolis as a spatial-temporal system. The time resource, universally based on the 24 hours measurement system, can then be adapted to diurnal, nocturnal, monthly, seasonal or annual patterns. It can work around basic energy and space resources in order to bring about a new spatial and functional metropolitan structure, a "chrono-adjustment" or "chrono-urbanism" that leaves room for new regulatory concepts.

NEED. The consideration of the time aspect in urban planning and management is an actual need. The city at work clashes with the city that sleeps and the city having fun; these are not compatible. The traditional conflicts that used to revolve around the allocation of space are now centred on the effective use of time and the management of urban rhythms. In the face of the fractioning of space, temporality and mobility, taking the time factor into consideration with regard to urban planning has become a necessity.

In a polychronic city, traditional conflicts that used to revolve around effective use of space now also revolve around the management of time and urban rhythms. We mustn't hide behind so-called great principles, we must open our eyes! We must ask questions regarding time in the city in terms of public space, whilst ensuring that in the absence of debate; the decision does not rest upon the weakest, that is, those who have no choice.

OPPORTUNITY. Time is one of the rare stakes in public politics where responsibilities are transversal. Both nobody and everybody's domain, time is one of the only topics that truly allows to enter a debate involving all protagonists, whether public or private, without leading to either tension or withdrawal behind institutional frontiers. The question of time requires partnership

across the board, from the observational stage through to the experimental and evaluation stage. Time is an opportunity, a measurable dimension which places man at the very centre of the matter in hand, and naturally so. It is an opportunity.

PROCESSES AND TOOLS TO BE DEVISED. We must now seek to define the methods and tools required for a balanced spatial-temporal adjustment, as much within population centres as on a city network scale. It is a question of both protecting periods of time and the autonomy of time, of designing the different sectors of the city according to their temporal profile and achieving a strategic steering of current trends in order to achieve the intelligent management of urban operation. It's a matter of pace.

1. Long forgotten

Space and time are familiar references, a framework within which we interpret our perception of the world that surrounds us, especially with regard to movement. Space is temporal by nature and time, especially seeing as these two factors constitute the basis of our social life. Time and space nevertheless tend to be analysed separately. Time has long been overlooked in the traditional approach to cities and territories, except with regard to historical aspects.

SHORTAGE. Existing approaches to urban time tend to be limited to their own disciplinary object: working hours, leisure time, family time, time devoted to education, etc. without any actual links with space, although all of our activities consist in the use of space and time according to chosen actions and objectives. In the days of the Revolution, weren't the different Départements² defined according to horseback travel journey time? And isn't it so that today we measure the country in terms of hours and minutes rather than distance? Although it seems rather banal to evoke these space-time connections from a philosophical or physical point of view, approaching the city in terms of time and space is far less common. Thought struggles to juggle all of those dimensions whilst cartographers remain puzzled with regard to their possible representations. In order to overcome these issues, we must strive to imagine the city as a four-dimensional entity, a labyrinth in which individuals can move around according to lines previously established in both time and space. This is a tricky operation as the urban maze undergoes constant shifts and transformations. Time has long played the part of the poor parent in reflections regarding city operation, adjustment and development for the benefit of infrastructure. Material aspects have overtaken the human aspect, which is confined to social policies. The temporal dimension has been neglected by town councillors and developer-contractors despite constituting a key aspect of urban dynamics. Up until now, we have mostly